

UNCLASSIFIED

SECURITY CLASSIFICATION OF THIS PAGE

2

REPORT DOCUMENTATION PAGE

1a. REPORT SECURITY CLASSIFICATION UNCLASSIFIED			1b. RESTRICTIVE MARKINGS		
2a. SECURITY CLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY			3. DISTRIBUTION / AVAILABILITY OF REPORT		
2b. DECLASSIFICATION / DOWNGRADING SCHEDULE			Cleared for public release, 9 Dec 85		
4. PERFORMING ORGANIZATION REPORT NUMBER(S)			5. MONITORING ORGANIZATION REPORT NUMBER(S)		
6a. NAME OF PERFORMING ORGANIZATION Defense Intelligence College		6b. OFFICE SYMBOL (If applicable) DIC-2	7a. NAME OF MONITORING ORGANIZATION		
7c. ADDRESS (City, State, and ZIP Code) Washington, D.C. 20301-6111			7b. ADDRESS (City, State, and ZIP Code)		
8a. NAME OF FUNDING / SPONSORING ORGANIZATION		8b. OFFICE SYMBOL (If applicable)	9. PROCUREMENT INSTRUMENT IDENTIFICATION NUMBER		
8c. ADDRESS (City, State, and ZIP Code)			10. SOURCE OF FUNDING NUMBERS		
PROGRAM ELEMENT NO.		PROJECT NO.	TASK NO.	WORK UNIT ACCESSION NO.	
11. TITLE (Include Security Classification) "The Slovenians of Yugoslavia: Who are They, What is Their Impact on the Yugoslav Federation, and What is Their Future"					
12. PERSONAL AUTHOR(S) Captain Scott A. Mlynarczyk, USA					
13a. TYPE OF REPORT Special Seminar Paper		13b. TIME COVERED FROM _____ TO _____		14. DATE OF REPORT (Year, Month, Day) 1985 November 4	
15. PAGE COUNT 15					
16. SUPPLEMENTARY NOTATION					
17. COSATI CODES			18. SUBJECT TERMS (Continue on reverse if necessary and identify by block number)		
FIELD	GROUP	SUB-GROUP	Ethnicity, Yugoslavia, Slovenia		
19. ABSTRACT (Continue on reverse if necessary and identify by block number)					
<p>Recognizing that the Slovenians are a pivotal nationality with present day Yugoslavia, a deeper understanding of Slovenian ethnicity is warranted. Thus, this paper will attempt to: 1) define what Slovenian ethnicity is, based on an assessment of those components contributing to the development of an ethnic group or nationality (e.g., history, culture, religion, and language); 2) assess future developments regarding the Slovenian ethnic character, with specific emphasis on how socialism, modernization, and inter-republic competition will impact this character, and finally; 3) determine the effects the Slovenian nationality will have on the Yugoslav polity in the future, with specific emphasis on national cohesion and centralized authority.</p> <p>Additionally, this paper will evaluate the general concept of ethnicity and define other related terms such as nation, nationality, community, state, and minority. These concepts and definitions will then be related to my thesis, which is that the Slovenian</p>					
20. DISTRIBUTION / AVAILABILITY OF ABSTRACT <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> UNCLASSIFIED/UNLIMITED <input type="checkbox"/> SAME AS RPT. <input type="checkbox"/> DTIC USERS			21. ABSTRACT SECURITY CLASSIFICATION Unclassified		
22a. NAME OF RESPONSIBLE INDIVIDUAL Barbara J. Kuennecke			22b. TELEPHONE (Include Area Code) 202-373-3309		22c. OFFICE SYMBOL DIC-2

DD FORM 1473, 84 MAR

83 APR edition may be used until exhausted
All other editions are obsolete

SECURITY CLASSIFICATION OF THIS PAGE

DTIC FILE COPY

UNCLASSIFIED

AD-A164 072

DTIC
SELECTED
1986
E

UNCLASSIFIED

SECURITY CLASSIFICATION OF THIS PAGE

19. (continued)

nationality will continue to retain its strong ethnic identity and considerable influence in Yugoslavia's future. This will occur even in the face of efforts made by the central government to integrate the republics and nationalities and despite the pervasive effects of modernization and Westernization.

UNCLASSIFIED

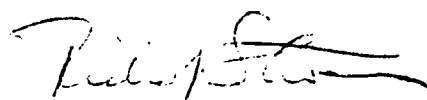
1980 JUL 31 11 37 AM
SECURITY CLASSIFICATION OF THIS PAGE


TITLE OF SEMINAR: SEMINAR IN ETHNIC DIVERSITY (SC702A)

TITLE OF PAPER: THE SLOVENIANS OF YUGOSLAVIA:
WHO ARE THEY, WHAT IS THEIR IMPACT
ON THE YUGOSLAV FEDERATION, AND
WHAT IS THEIR FUTURE?


NAME OF CANDIDATE: Scott A. Mlynarczyk, Captain, U.S. Army

PAPER APPROVED:


RICHARD G. STEVENS, Ph.D.
Associate Dean


BARBARA J. KUENNECKE, Capt, USAF
Assistant Dean for Graduate Programs

Date:





Accession For	
NTIS GRA&I	<input checked="checked" type="checkbox"/>
DTIC TAB	<input type="checkbox"/>
Unannounced	<input type="checkbox"/>
Justification	
By	
Distribution/	
Availability Codes	
Dist	Avail and/or Special
A-1	



THE SLOVENIANS OF YUGOSLAVIA:
WHO ARE THEY, WHAT IS THEIR IMPACT
ON THE YUGOSLAV FEDERATION, AND
WHAT IS THEIR FUTURE?

by

SCOTT A. MLYNARCZYK
Captain, U.S. Army

Special Seminar Paper submitted to the Faculty of the Defense
Intelligence College in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of Master of Science
of Strategic Intelligence
September 1985

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
INTRODUCTION	1
SECTION ONE	2
Slovenia: A Profile	2
Slovenia: An Historical Perspective	3
<u>Ancient and Medieval Europe</u>	3
<u>Revolutionary and Modern Europe</u>	4
<u>Post WW I</u>	6
<u>Post WW II</u>	8
<u>Summation</u>	9
The Concept of Ethnicity and Slovenia	10
Components of Slovenian Ethnicity	11
<u>Religion</u>	12
<u>Language</u>	12
<u>Cultural Heritage</u>	13
<u>Societal Profile</u>	13
<u>Economic Variable</u>	15
<u>Conclusion</u>	15
SECTION TWO	16
Slovenia and the Yugoslav Polity	16
<u>The Factor of Nationalism</u>	16
<u>Political Factors</u>	17
<u>Economic Factors</u>	19
<u>Cultural and Social Factors</u>	20
<u>Religion</u>	20

<u>Demography</u>	21
<u>Education</u>	21
<u>Military Impacts</u>	21
<u>Conclusion</u>	21
THE YUGOSLAV POLITY AND SLOVENIA: PROSPECTS ..	22
APPENDIX	24
ENDNOTES	25
BIBLIOGRAPHY	29

INTRODUCTION

Although Yugoslavia as a federation has only been in existence since 1918 when the Kingdom of Croats, Serbs, and Slovenes was created out of the post-WW I spirit of self determination, most of the nationalities residing within its boundaries possess much longer and richer heritages some of which date back to the seventh century. The Slovene nationality in particular, is one of these groups which has developed a deep sense of ethnic identity based on its rich history.

The Slovenians, who have a close Western European association, almost all reside in the small Republic of Slovenia in Northwest Yugoslavia, form over eight percent of the population of Yugoslavia, speak their own tongue, maintain the highest standard of living among the republics, and contribute over seventeen percent to the gross national product of Yugoslavia.¹ These factors which forge a strong ethnic identity, coupled with others to be presented later, indicate the Slovenians are a very important nationality within Yugoslavia, particularly since the death of Tito, the long term ruler of post-WW II Yugoslavia.

Recognizing that the Slovenians are a pivotal nationality with present day Yugoslavia, a deeper understanding of Slovenian ethnicity is warranted. Thus, this paper will attempt to: 1) define what Slovenian ethnicity is, based on an assessment of those components contributing to

the development of an ethnic group or nationality (e.g., history, culture, religion, and language), 2) assess future developments regarding the Slovenian ethnic character, with specific emphasis on how socialism, modernization, and inter-republic competition will impact this character, and finally, 3) determine the effects the Slovenian nationality will have on the Yugoslav polity in the future, with specific emphasis on national cohesion and centralized authority.

Additionally, this paper will evaluate the general concept of ethnicity and define other related terms such as nation, nationality, community, state, and minority. These concepts and definitions will then be related to my thesis, which is that the Slovenian nationality will continue to retain its strong ethnic identity and considerable influence in Yugoslavia's future. This will occur even in the face of efforts made by the central government to integrate the republics and nationalities and despite the pervasive effects of modernization and Westernization.

SLOVENIA: A PROFILE

Slovenia, the northwest republic of Yugoslavia, occupies a frontier region where Slavic, Germanic, and Mediterranean influences meet. Its Julian Alps descend from the Austrian border, while its southern Karstic ranges reach Italy and Dalmatia to the south and the west.² To the south and the east lies the Republic of Croatia. The area of Slovenia is 20,000 square kilometers, and the 1981 census gave its population as

1,884,000, about 8.4 percent of the population of Yugoslavia. Its population density, 94 inhabitants per square kilometer, ranks it near the top among the republics.³ The largest part of Slovenia is mountainous and forested with only a small Eastern section lying within the Pannonian Plain which reaches into Hungary. Because of this, agricultural expansion must rest upon increased productivity, and there is a reliance upon agricultural imports. Slovenia is a cool and somewhat rainy region with short summers and an average year round temperature of 48 degrees Fahrenheit. The capital city of Slovenia is Ljubljana located in the center of the Republic.⁴

In addition to geography, there are many other variables which impact upon the Slovenian ethnic character, but only through an intensive review of Slovenian history can they fully be understood.

SLOVENIA: A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

Ancient and Medieval Europe

Although considered Roman and at times Avaric territory prior to the seventh century, the first Slavic occupants of Slovenia who relate ancestrally to modern day Slovenes settled around 625 A.D. The early distinctions between Slav tribes are difficult to make, but those covering the territory of present day Yugoslavia split into three main branches, with the Slovenes settling in the northwest. By the eighth century the Slovenians had submitted to the domination of the Franks. Under Charlemagne, German Catholic Missionaries converted them to

Christianity and introduced German Culture.⁵ From 962 to 973 the Slovene lands came under the rule of Holy Roman Emperor Otto I. In the thirteenth century the Slovenians were included in a Slavic Union led by King Otokar, but this lasted only a while when in 1278 the Hapsburgs under Rudolf conquered Slovene lands. Although Hapsburg rule basically extended from this date until 1918, there were some significant moments which influenced Slovenian national consciousness. In particular, during the sixteenth century the Reformation encouraged the rise of a Slovene nationalism which resulted in the first appearance of Slovene grammar in 1584 and the use of Slovenian in Church services. Even though Protestantism provoked such actions, it never made significant inroads into Slovenia where the Counter-Reformation was effective.⁶

Revolutionary and Modern Europe

Under Joseph II, the enlightened despot, the position of the Slav peasant was improved through better education. Evidence of this was that the number of literate Slovenes increased, and there grew up among the South Slavs of the Hapsburg Monarchy a class of rationalists and nationally conscious intellectuals writing in their own language and interested in the culture of their own people.⁷ In 1797 French troops came to Slovene inhabited regions. In 1809 Napoleon acquired even more Slovene lands. Although French rule was only a brief interlude, it had a provocative effect. Particularly important was its intellectual stimulus and for the first time the majority of Slovenes, many Croats, and some Serbs had been associated together in one unit outside the

framework of the existing Austrian and Ottoman empires. In short, French rule left behind a powerful inspiration.⁸

After the Austrian restoration, Slovene national consciousness continued to grow. In the revolutionary year of 1848 the Sloveniansociety called for the creation of a Slovenian Kingdom under Austrian rule.⁹ Thirty years later, the Austrians granted considerable cultural concessions after continued Slovene Peoples Party agitation.¹⁰ Although the Slovenes during this time were increasingly nationalistic, this did not mean they all preferred to be separate and independent from Austria, for a desire for cooperation with the Vienna government was still the prevalent attitude among Slovenes. For them, nationalism meant the union of all Slovene lands and protection of their language and culture against the Germans and the Italians.¹¹ In the minority, the Slovene liberals were skeptical of the Monarchy and advocated a departure from the Austrians for the creation of a federation of Slovenes and other South Slav nationalities. During the last quarter of the century, nationalist ferment continued but was kept under check by the Empire's liberal emigration policies concerning Slovenia. At the turn of the century national consciousness became more pronounced. From 1912 onwards, nationalist sentiment increased rapidly throughout the South Slav provinces of the Dual Monarchy with some Slovenian students turning to revolutionary activity.¹²

At the outbreak of WW I, sentiment for a federation of Slovenes, Croats, and Serbs was particularly pronounced in Serbia, but within

Slovenia, the Slovene Peoples Party took a moderate, compromising position.¹³ It wasn't until the termination of the war when, due to significant human losses, extensive damage, unemployment, inflation, acute housing and food shortages, peasant disorganization, and Italian occupation, that a strong enough sense of revolutionary spirit existed in Slovenia to usher in the idea of a Yugoslav federation.¹⁴

Post World War I

The new Serb, Croat, and Slovene state, which was officially proclaimed on December 1, 1918, in Belgrade,¹⁵ presented some immediate difficulties. The first problem was to prevent Serbian hegemony over Croatia and Slovenia since the three peoples had very different historical, state-legal, and cultural traditions.

The interwar period was marked by an uncooperative spirit between the different nationalities, particularly the Serbs and Croats, which resulted in the deterioration of the Vivodian Constitution which had bound post World War I Yugoslavia. Eventually, King Alexander abolished the constitution and introduced his own dictates to put an end to what he thought was an inefficient party system. However this had a more negative impact by breeding more suspicions of Belgrade thus promoting the growth of nationality parties within Croatia and Slovenia.¹⁷

As the rest of Europe prepared for war, so did Yugoslavia. However, its efforts proved ineffective as the Germans crushed the Yugoslav Army

in a matter of a few weeks in 1941 and imposed an unconditional surrender.¹⁸ The Germans occupied Slovenia except for the southwest, which was controlled by the Italians, and a small portion of Prekomurje fell into Hungarian hands.¹⁹ Different policies were pursued in each of the annexed territories, with the Germans initiating brutal Germanization in the north of Slovenia and the Italians turning their Slovenian possessions into an Italian province.²⁰ The significance of this occupation was that resistance movements sprang up all over Slovenia, particularly in the rural areas. One of these movements was the Slovenian Alliance which was an underground political front that refused to acknowledge the new order imposed on the Slovenes and Yugoslavia, and advocated the union of all Slovenes after the War within a reorganized Yugoslav federation. At the same time it condemned Communist actions as being solely aimed at winning support to make a bid for power after the War. It also established a radio link with the members of the Slovenian government in exile in London.²¹ As the War progressed and Tito began to consolidate his position as the primary Yugoslav resistance military leader, the Slovenian anti-communist Alliance hastily tried to arrange plans which would enable it to consolidate power in Slovenia before the Communists did. These initiatives fell short, and on 7 May 1945, the Partisans entered Ljubljana. This subsequently provoked widespread flights of Slovene refugees from the control of the Communists. Those who did not get away or who were forced to return by the British who occupied bordering Austria, were summarily executed or dealt with harshly.²²

Post World War II

After initial consolidation of power in 1945, Tito established a Communist Yugoslav federal system which contained six republics--five for single nationalities and the sixth for an ethnically mixed area.²³ The Communists then embarked on a harsh imposition of Stalinist communism on the republics including centralization of authority and collectivization. These impositions, particularly collectivization, basically failed in Slovenia where resistance was met (only 11 percent of the land by 1951 was state owned).²⁴ As time progressed, the weaknesses of centralized communist authority and the flaws in Marxist ideology concerning nationalism became more evident.

In the late 1950s the separate power centers in the individual republics started to have an impact on the political climate. For example, general dissatisfaction which prevailed in Slovenia because large funds were being channeled off to the lesser-developed republics, prompted local officials to push for and receive concessions from the central government, concerning this issue. It is important to understand here that although this contention started over an economic issue, what was involved was a classic case of nationalism with all its ramifications.²⁵

Slovenian interests again confronted federation interests when in 1962 the Slovenian Party favored the extension of the market system and other liberal reforms for the economy.²⁶ As witnessed in a 1958 strike,

the Slovenians have always preferred an incentive system. By the late 1960s Slovenian discontent culminated in its violent reaction to the central government's plan to divert Slovenian road building funds to an international fund.²⁸ Reacting in part to this crisis and others Slovenia provoked later, the central government adopted a new constitution which moved from a system in which the central government was the dominant power to a more federal system where the republics had more influence and autonomy.²⁹ From recent experiences during the last few decades it can be concluded that the communist regime has scaled back the integration of Yugoslavia's nationalities and allowed more ethnic and cultural individuality among the different Yugoslav peoples to assuage pluralistic sentiments in republics such as Slovenia.

Historical Summation

Slovenian ethnic identity developed over a period of about 800 years before reaching a mature status between the Reformation and French occupation in the early 1800s. Its development has been influenced by a Central European character, as opposed to the Turkic/Ottoman leaning of most of the Yugoslav republics. The two most significant components of Slovenian history have been Austrian rule, and the embracement of Roman Catholicism. The legacy of both is that they have left an indelible mark on the Slovene ethnic psyche that is likely to continue for some time.

THE CONCEPT OF ETHNICITY AND SLOVENIA

As derived from the historical review, Slovenian ethnic identity has developed into a mature nationality with the capacity, in certain circumstances to aspire for statehood. But just what were the grounds for the development of Slovenian ethnicity and what does it mean?

The term ethnicity has traditionally lacked clear meaning in scholarly usage. However, it will be argued here, that ethnicity has two primary facets. These are subjective experience and objective specification. Regarding the subjective experience no detail, exact demography, or economic and political facts can entirely convey the meaning of ethnicity for there are some phenomenological dimensions that cannot be measured or quantified.³⁰ Basically, ethnicity requires that the observer try to understand its natural spontaneity and intimate feelings.³¹

The ancient Greeks recognized ethnicity as a form of extended family feelings and obligations pertaining to "one's own kind." Using the Slovenes as a specific example of this, the feeling of one's own kind exists not just among Slovenes in Slovenia proper but also extends to those who reside in Austria and Italy.

Although subjective experience is a key ingredient of ethnicity, ethnicity also manifests itself in tangible components. They include identity by language, religion, custom, territory, culture, color,

genealogy, and demography or any combination. Interestingly, the Slovenians provide an excellent example of how ethnic identity is linked to such components particularly regarding language and religion.³²

Another important aspect of ethnicity is that the cohesiveness of a people feeds upon itself. For a likened people often do share a common loyalty unity, and spirituality.³³ Ethnic association also provides an individual inherent advantages to belonging (e.g., security) and therefore acts as an impetus to foster ethnic feelings.³⁴

Regarding Slovenia, ethnicity within a larger political whole has different degrees of development. Here ethnic consciousness increases to where some basic social structure is required. Next, solidification of this societal structure provokes the ethnic group to try to achieve group rights through political action and mobilization.³⁵ If these efforts are successful then the beginnings of a nationality are witnessed (nationality here is denoted by such things as birth and culture not citizenship). The final step of this process is accomplished when a nationality, even though it may already possess a piece of semi-autonomous territory within an existing country, demands a country of its own with full sovereignty. Specifically concerning Slovenia it can be categorized as a mature nationality.

Components of Slovenian Ethnicity

The foregoing section on Slovenian ethnicity contained an elementary

discussion of the factors which have influenced Slovene ethnic development. In order to understand the current dimensions of what characterize Slovenian ethnicity more fully, a discussion of several key components follows.

Religion. Throughout the last 1000 years the Roman Catholic Church has been the most basic ingredient in Slovene society. The Church has traditionally exercised an especially strong cultural influence, and remains well organized and influential in the formation of public opinion even today.³⁷ Traditional Catholic influences are most pronounced in the Slovenian countryside where there is at least one church, normally on the highest ground, in every village. Here, all new-born children are baptized.³⁸ Importantly, Catholicism has lessened the influence of the Communists over the populace³⁹ and it has been linked to Slovene nationalist movements.⁴⁰

Language. Second only to religion in contributing to Slovene ethnic identity has been the Slovene language. Slovenes are linguistically homogenous, with the exception of a Hungarian and Italian minority. The Slovene language, one of the South Slavic groups of the Slavic family, is one of the most archaic of the Slavic languages.⁴¹ It includes thirty-six dialects and twenty-nine sub-dialects which form a language which is different from the two other basic Yugoslav languages, Serbo-Croatian, and Macedonian.⁴² A native tongue has been important to Slovenian ethnic identity, particularly since they are surrounded by a number of Balkan languages.

Cultural Heritage. Cultural tradition in Slovenia has been long and rich and has contributed significantly to solidifying the Slovene ethnic character. Even today the Slovenian people are fond of custom and tradition. Culturally the Slovenes are the most Western of the Yugoslav nationalities. They are almost a totally literate people who have an excellent educational system, and a well developed and semi-independent intra-republic news media.⁴³

A cohesive family unit has always been a hallmark of the Slovene ethnic group. Rooted in tradition, this continues even today where some households still include three generations.⁴⁴ Although there are indications this is changing, the family unit will still serve as the basic societal structure in Slovenia for some time.

The individual Slovene (particularly the rural Slovenes) is marked by two basic sets of qualities. The first set includes egalitarianism, kinship loyalties, cooperative behavior and collective village behavior, and there is a strong tradition of hospitality. The second set encompasses individualism, self-reliance, competition, leadership, initiative, and hard work. Although the two sets of qualities seem somewhat contradictory, in Slovenian society they are mutually supportive.

Societal Profile. Slovenia is almost 91 percent ethnically homogeneous.⁴⁶ It is composed of workers, peasants, intelligentsia, worker-peasants, party officials, and clerics.

The peasants, the most traditionally minded make up a sizeable part of the Slovene population. The peasants who are a very literate element in Slovene society are noted for their interest and awareness in social and political concerns.

The workers of Slovenia are the most successful in Yugoslavia and have respectable per-capita earnings even compared with Western European standards. Though not as traditional as the peasants, they remain ethnically conscious and proud.

The clerics are well educated and play an important and active role in day to day Slovenian society.⁴⁸ They are quite influential by advocating moral and social teachings to parishioners, directing the Catholic school system and promoting policies to be adopted or abided by the government.

The intelligentsia who are especially influenced by Western ideals, have a tradition of fermenting Slovene ethnic awareness. This tends to create difficulties for local government and party officials. However, like most Slovenes they remain reasonably content because of their standard of living and the status afforded them. ⁴⁹

Finally, due to migration, the new worker-peasants constitute an expanding group. This group, in the age of commuting, balance both the responsibilities of rural life and those of urban employment.⁵⁰ In fact, a full 61 percent of the Slovenian populace reside in places with

a population of less than 2,000, with only two cities having a population over 50,000.⁵¹

Significantly impacting the Slovene ethnic character have been demographic and migratory trends. Throughout its history under Hapsburg domination, Slovenian development was generally diversified and urban.⁵² Augmenting this was the impact ethnicity had on migration patterns. Those Yugoslav ethnic troupes having a distinctive language and culture of their own and strong sense of group identity have been less disposed to migrate outside their native regions. At the same time, the regions inhabited by them have been less attractive to potential migrants from other regions.⁵³ The feeling among Slovenes is that they are distinctly different from the rest of the Yugoslav nationalities.⁵⁴

Economic Variable of Slovene Ethnicity. Slovenia which has always enjoyed impressive per-capita income levels compared to the rest of Yugoslavia's nationalities has developed a certain sense of ethnic pride by this accomplishment.⁵⁵ In fact the Slovenes having developed Central European rather than Balkan standards, hold precious their economic development almost as much as their ethnic distinctiveness.⁵⁶

In conclusion, the Slovene ethnic character is one which has undergone a 1200 year development. During this evolution, it has become characterized by Western European association, Catholicism, economic well-being, literacy, social advancement and political resilience.

Resulting out of this, the Slovenian character has developed into a cohesive nationality.

SLOVENIA AND THE YUGOSLAV POLITY

Garnered from the historical section of this paper is that Slovenia is an influential nationality in the Yugoslav polity for a host of reasons. The most important include historical tradition, cohesive ethnic and cultural identity, and significant economic power. In light of the death of Tito, Slovenia's impact on Yugoslavia this has now become even more pronounced. This means any course the new collective leadership would like to embark upon will first have to placate the interests of the nationalities, particular, the Slovenians.

Recognizing the foregoing paragraph, this section will try to determine what the "Slovenian" factors are that impact upon the Yugoslav federation, what constitutes these factors, and to what degree have they affected the Yugoslav polity and the Yugoslav republics individually and collectively.

Nationalism

The most important "Slovenian" factor which has affected Yugoslav polity has been nationalism. Reacting partly to Slovenian demands, the central government has limited direct central planning of the economy, reduced party controls, and accepted the independence of the trade

unions and federal and republic assemblies.⁵⁷

Interestingly, part of the impetus behind these nationalistic initiatives were the Slovene's defensive feelings. For it is only natural for a nationality of Yugoslavia to see its positions as potentially threatened within the multinational union. For the experiences of a number of other ethnic groups in various multinational states suggest that fears of assimilation are not always unfounded. Under such circumstances, feelings of insecurity mount and nationalist activity escalates as a defense of the group's threatened interests.⁵⁸

Because of their well-developed ethnic character and their concentrated population, the Slovenes have been able to successfully acquire from the central government, policies which protect their economic interests, and guard against encroachment upon their societal values and culture.⁵⁹

Political Factors

Due primarily to its Roman Catholic character, Slovenia has on the whole, never shown an affinity for Communism. Additionally its representation in the League of Yugoslav Communists is below its percentage of the population.⁶⁰ Nonetheless, it is very politically influential within the central government. This is due to the presence of an active political elite who use their influence as power brokers. Because the Slovenes are neither Serb nor Croat (the two most important

conflicting groups in Yugoslavia), they often exert important political influence simply because they often act as the pivot on policy decisions.⁶¹ Recognizing their importance in forming a consensus among the different coalitions, the Slovenians have employed this advantage effectively, particularly with the Croats, a nationality with whom they share the closest affinity in the country.

Slovenia has an important effect on the central government's policies since it is often the first nationality to pursue independent policies. This in turn provokes others to follow suit. Most notably, the Slovenians sparked one of the most significant nationalistic uprisings among the republics in post WW II Yugoslavia in 1968.⁶²

In a more subtle and indirect manner, Slovenia has influenced the direction in which the central government has moved in the last fifteen years on issues concerning ideology and national goals. Because of its disappointments and frustrations over Marxist-Leninist measures to address social and economic ills, the Slovenians contributed to a redirection of Marxist applications in Yugoslavia.⁶³

In summary, Slovenia has been an influential nationality within the Yugoslav political process due to its pivotal role in forming and joining coalitions, active political elite, and powerful regional economy.

Economic Factors

One of the most important impacts Slovenia has had on the Yugoslav federation is the economic one. With less than nine percent of the population, she accounts for almost seventeen percent of the gross product, transfers annually as much as one third of her revenue to Belgrade. Prior to 1964, Slovenia provided as much as two-fifths of the total federal revenue.⁶⁴

Slovenia is the richest industrial region of Yugoslavia, which, coupled with its resources of natural gas, oil, coal, lead, silver and zinc, makes it a very influential economic center. Also, Slovene production of electrical energy provides a large share of the entire country's supply.⁶⁵

When examining Slovenian economic issues, the single most important aspect is the struggle between Slovenia and the central government over how the Slovenian gross economic product is to be distributed within the country. Throughout the post WW I epoch, there has been contention, but recently Slovenia's approach to it has taken on a more nationalistic character. One feature of the new "economic nationalism" is the unwillingness of the Slovenian republic to continue subsidizing the economic growth of its southern fellow republics. They argue that to do so is a waste of scarce resources.⁶⁶

A sensitive issue in the economic realm has been the control of

foreign currency balances, including remittances of the salaries of Yugoslav citizens temporarily working abroad. The Slovenian parties have argued that they should be granted more input concerning currency transfers since they are a major producer of the export goods netting profits abroad.⁶⁷

Besides creating contention with Belgrade, Slovenian economic policy has also put them at odds with the other Yugoslav republics. On the issue of National Bank control, the Slovenes preferred to limit the Bank's powers over trading organization and bank profits which were for the most part, originating in the north. The less-developed republics, of course, wanted more authority for the National Bank, to enable it to redirect northern monies into the less-developed regions.⁶⁸ Although this issue was eventually resolved, it highlights the problem of inter-republic relations over economic issues, in which Slovenia plays a key part.

The main challenge Slovenia will pose for the central government and for the other Yugoslav republics in the future is that it will continually press for more economic decentralization and republic autonomy.⁶⁹

Cultural and Social Impacts

Though the Slovenian religious community has influenced the formulation of the central government's policies toward Slovenia, it

also affects policies concerning the rest of the country. The Roman Catholic Church remains, without a doubt, the most comprehensively organized single religious community in Yugoslavia. Catholic publications comprise more than two thirds of the religious press and more than 80 percent of the country's theological faculties and seminaries are Roman Catholic. This perspective is significant because any influence exerted by the Catholic Church in Yugoslav society serves Slovenian ends because the Church and the republic are so intertwined.⁷⁰

Slovenian demographic and migration trends have had a very noticeable impact on the Yugoslavs. The most crucial being the Slovenes ability to maintain their ethnic homogeneity. By not diluting their ethnic character, the Slovenes have been able to maintain an exceptional social and political cohesion, thus presenting the central government with a unified challenge. Another way in which demography has affected (although indirectly) Slovenia's and Yugoslavia's interrelationship has been labor migration. Since Slovenia is the most prosperous of the republics, it attracts a sizeable number of workers from the lesser-developed republics. Resulting is an important reliance upon the Slovenes to absorb excess laborers from elsewhere within Yugoslavia.

Concerning education, Slovenia's primary influence on the Yugoslav polity is through its excellent institutions of learning. Slovenian students who are noted for their academic prowess eventually make up a respectable portion of the nation's elite.

Although Slovenes are not noted for their military tradition and only make up a small portion of the armed forces, they have gained a larger military role in Yugoslavia. This has been accomplished by gaining membership on the military committee of the national government, through the establishment of a more territorial defense system, and through the introduction of a second command language.⁷¹

Having only about 8 percent of the Yugoslav population, Slovenia plays a more significant role in Yugoslav politics and economics than what is commensurate with its size. The Slovenes who have prompted significant change within the Yugoslav polity since 1945 and particularly since 1969 primarily derive this influence from their ethnic cohesion and economic strength.

Although the Slovenians are an independently minded people, this must not be confused with separatist thought. For in the post-Tito era, Slovenes recognize that some basic agreement and cooperation with the other republics improves the cohesion of the federation which in turn benefits all through collective defense. Afghanistan and Czechoslovakia are constant reminders to the Slovenians.⁷²

THE YUGOSLAV POLITY AND SLOVENIA/PROSPECTS

Through its long and rich history, Slovenian ethnic identity has developed pronouncedly. Yet, during the post WW II period this identity underwent some modification due to the imposition of communism

and the effects of modernization. Modernization in particular made some inroads in de-emphasizing Slovenian ethnic identity. For instance, due in part to migration, demographic changes, and world commerce, traditional customs have not been emphasized as vigorously. Although somewhat significant these effects have not been enough to dissolve the basic fiber of the Slovene ethnic character. For example, although concerted efforts were made to limit the religious community's influence over the citizenry, these efforts have resulted in little change. In contemporary Yugoslavia, religion is as pervasive as it has ever been, particularly Catholicism in Slovenia. Additionally, the Slovenian language remains strongly embraced.

In short, Slovenian ethnic identity remains resilient and cohesive and therefore can be expected to remain vibrant. Furthermore, though aggravated over such divisive issues as capital redistribution among the republics, the prospects regarding the Yugoslav polity and the Slovenians are mildly optimistic since the Slovenians remained assuaged by their high standard of living, and the conciliatory policies afforded them by the central government regarding political decentralization and economic liberalization.

APPENDIX I

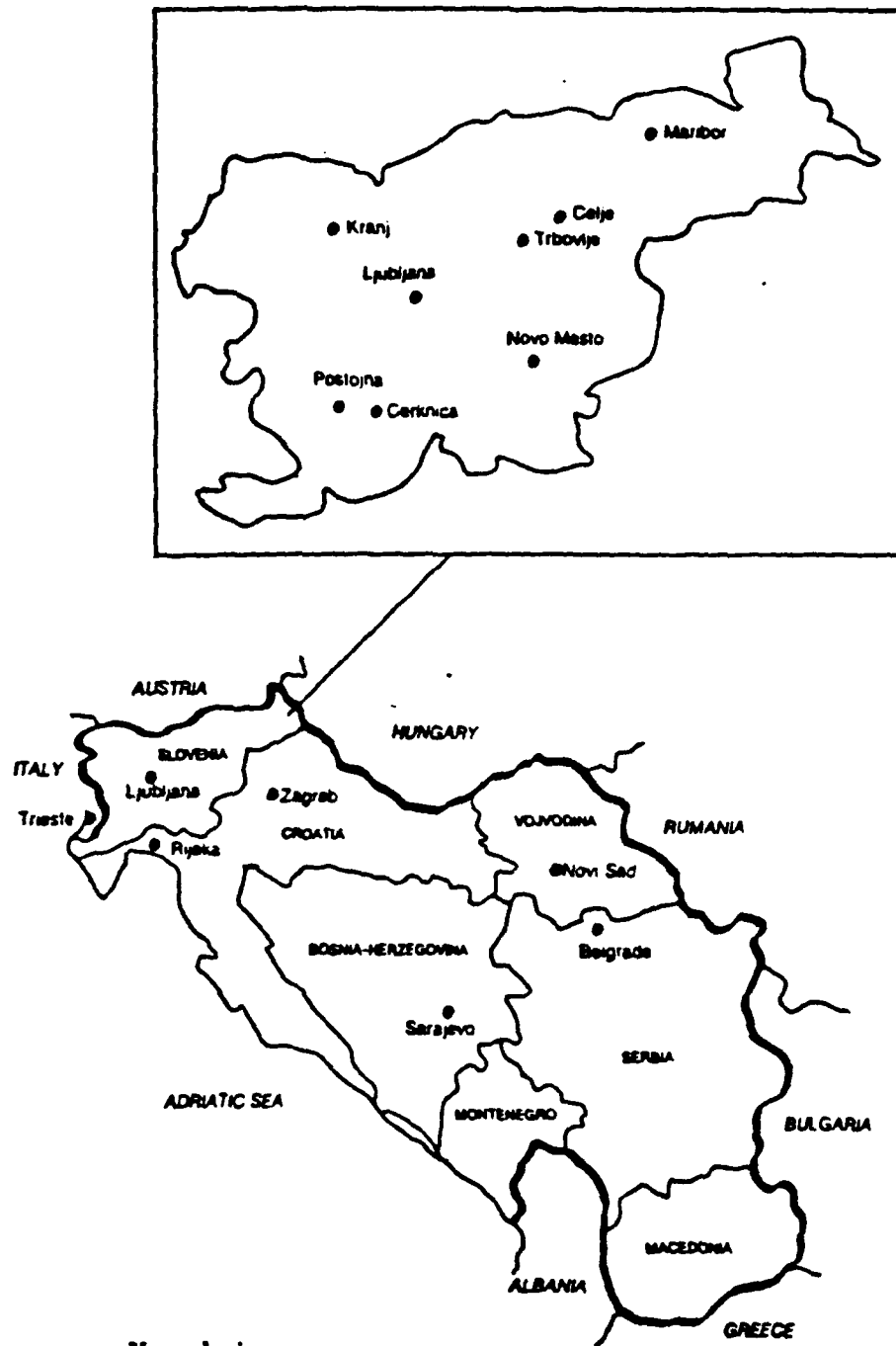


FIG. 1. Yugoslavia

Extracted from "Slovenian Village" op., cit.

ENDNOTES

1. National Intelligence Survey: Yugoslavia, Central Intelligence Agency, 1971, p. 2.
2. Irene Winner, A Slovenian Village. (Providence: Brown University Press, 1971) p. 11.
3. Yugoslavia: A Country Profile. (Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1982) p. 274.
4. Winner, op. cit., p. 13.
5. Country Profile, op. cit., p. 5.
6. Winner, op. cit., p. 35.
7. Stevan K. Pavlowitch, Yugoslavia, (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1971) pp. 37-38.
8. Ibid, p. 39.
9. Winner, op. cit., p. 36.
10. Pavlowitch, op. cit., p. 46.
11. Hugh Seton-Watson, Nations and States. (Boulder: Westview Press, 1977) p. 137.
12. Pavlowitch, op. cit., p. 49.
13. Alex N. Dragnitch, The First Yugoslavia. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1981) p. 4.
14. Pavlowitch, op. cit., p. 53.
15. Country Profile, op. cit., p. 22.
16. Dragnitch, op. cit., p. 4.
17. Country Profile, op. cit., pp. 26-27.
18. Pavlowitch, op. cit., p. 18.
19. Winner, op. cit., p. 44.
20. Pavlowitch, op. cit., p. 109.
21. Ibid, pp. 132-137.
22. Ibid, p. 171.

23. Robert R. King Minorities under Communism. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1973) p. 125.
24. Winner, op. cit., p. 73.
25. Viktor Meier, "Yugoslavia's National Question." Problems of Communism, Mar-Apr 1983, p. 51.
26. Ibid, p. 19.
27. Pavlowitch, op. cit., p. 278.
28. Paul Shoup, "The National Question in Yugoslavia" Problems of Communism, Jan-Feb, 1972, p. 22.
29. Ibid, p. 70.
30. Peter F. Sugar, Ethnic Diversity and Conflict in Eastern Europe. (Santa Barbara: ABC-Clío Press, 1980) p. 70.
31. Ibid, p. 71.
32. Ibid, p. 69.
33. Ibid, p. 72.
34. Nathan Glazer and Daniel P. Moynihan, Ethnicity. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1981) p. 15.
35. Sugar, op. cit., p. 9.
36. Allen H. Barton, et.al., Opinion-Making Elites in Yugoslavia. (New York: Praeger, 1973) p. 72.
37. Ibid, p. 74.
38. Winner, op. cit., pp. 107-109.
39. Meier, op. cit., p. 54.
40. Country Profile, op. cit., p. 102.
41. Winner, op. cit., p. 11.
42. Country Profile, op. cit., p. 26.
43. Winner, op. cit., p. 11.
44. Ibid, p. 67.
45. Ibid, pp. 226-227.

46. Intelligence Survey: Yugoslavia, op. cit.
47. Pollack, Daniel C. Selected Population Groups of Eastern Europe. (Kensington, MD: American Institute for Research, 1973) p. 30.
48. Ibid.
49. Ibid.
50. Ibid.
51. George W. Hoffman, "Migration and Social Change in Yugoslavia," Problems of Communism, Nov-Dec 1973, p. 25.
52. Ibid, p. 23.
53. Ibid, p. 20.
54. Ibid, p. 5.
55. R.V.Burks, "The National Problem and the Future of Yugoslavia." Trip Report. (Washington D.C., October 1973, report no. P-4761, p. 55.
56. Pavlowitch, op. cit., p. 302.
57. Shoup, op. cit., p. 18.
58. Gary K. Bertsh, "The Revival of Nationalisms: Currents in Yugoslavia." Problems of Communism, Nov-Dec 1973, p. 15.
59. Gary K. Bertsh, Values and Community in Multi-National Yugoslavia. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1976, p. 82.
60. Burks, op. cit., p. 62.
61. Pollack, op. cit., p. 29.
62. Country Profile, op. cit., p. 72.
63. Bertsh, op. cit., p. 10.
64. Burks, op. cit., p. 53.
65. Winner, op. cit., p. 15.
66. Burks, op. cit., p. 15.
67. Ibid, p. 33.
68. Meier, op. cit., p. 26.

69. Fred Singleton, Twentieth Century Yugoslavia. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1976) p. 228.

70. Country Profile, op. cit., p. 101.

71. Burks, op. cit., pp. 34-35.

72. Stephen L. Burg, "Decision-Making in Yugoslavia." Problems of Communism, Mar-Apr 1980, p. 20.

73. Ross A. Johnson, Impressions of Post-Tito Yugoslavia: A Trip Report. (Santa Monica: Rand Corporation, 1982) no. n-1813, p. 5.

74. Ibid, p. 15.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Barton, Allen H., Denitch, Bogdan, and Kadushin, Charles. Opinion-Making Elites in Yugoslavia. New York: Praeger Publishers, 1973.
- Bertsh, Gary K. Values and Community in Multi-National Yugoslavia. New York: Columbia University Press, 1976.
- Bertsh, Gary K. "The Revival of Nationalisms: Currents in Yugoslavia." Problems of Communism. Nov-Dec 1973, p.1.
- Burg, Stephen L. "Decision-Making in Yugoslavia." Problems of Communism, March-April 1980, p..
- Burks, R. V. The National Problem and the Future of Yugoslavia. Trip Report, Washington, D.C., October 1973, no. P-4761.
- Dragnitch, Alex N. The First Yugoslavia, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1981.
- Glazer, Nathan and Moynihan, Daniel P. Ethnicity. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1981.
- Harmstone-Rakowsa, Teresa. Communism in Eastern Europe. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1984.
- Hoffman, George W. "Migration and Social Change in Yugoslavia." Problems of Communism, Nov-Dec 1973, p. 16.
- Johnson, Ross A. Impressions of Post-Tito Yugoslavia: A Trip Report. Santa Monica: Rand Corporation, January 1982, p. 16.
- King, Robert R. Minorities Under Communism. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1973.
- Klien, George and Reban, Milan J. The Politics of Ethnicity in Eastern Europe. New York: Columbia University Press, 1981.
- Meier, Viktor "Yugoslavia's National Question." Problems of Communism, March-April 1983, p. 47.
- National Intelligence Survey: Yugoslavia. Central Intelligence Agency. 1971.
- Pavlowitch, Stevan K. Yugoslavia. New York: Praeger Publishers, 1971.
- Pollack, Daniel C. Selected Population Groups of Eastern Europe. Kensington, MD: American Institute for Research, 1973.
- Ra'anana, Gabriel D. Yugoslavia After Tito. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1977.

Shoup, Paul "The National Question in Yugoslavia." Problems of Communism, Jan-Feb 1972, p. 18.

Singleton, Fred Twentieth Century Yugoslavia. New York: Columbia University Press, 1976.

Sugar, Peter F. Ethnic Diversity and Conflict in Eastern Europe. Santa Barbara, California: ABC-CLIO Press, 1980.

Watson-Seton, Hugh Nations and States. Boulder Colorado: Westview Press, 1977.

Winner, Irene A Slovenian Village. Providence: Brown University Press, 1971.

"World Atlas." Maplewood N.J.: C.S. Hammond & Company, 1956.

Yugoslavia: A Country Profile. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1982.